Kossuth and Hungary.

More than six hundred years ago the Hungarian nation possessed, what was a novelty and wonder for that time, a written constitution of government. But what is still more remarkable, is, that that constitution might be called a free constitution. It was free in the same sense that the present English Government is, called free; it provided for municipal institutions, it limited the powers of its monarchs and aristocracy, and it stipulated for the perpetual independence of the nation, and the preservation of certain great personal and popular rights. It was, indeed, the *Magna Charta* of the realm.

Originally, the Magyar race, which was always the dominant race of Hungary, were in the habit of electing their own chiefs, and of determining all their affairs by a vote of the whole people. But after some years they conferred the supreme power upon a single elective monarch, who took the most solemn oaths of fidelity to the Constitution, and who, as often happened in feudal times, was rather a friend of the people than of the nobility. The crown became hereditary at a later day, yet throughout all the changes of royalty, the municipal institutions and popular rights were retained.

In the year 1526 the Emperor of Austria, by intermarriage and the consent of the nation, became King of Hungary, and during the next century the crown was made hereditary in the House of Hapsburg; but in these arrangements it was expressly conditioned that the ancient Constitution should not be disturbed. The head of the State, though an Emperor in his own dominions, possessed of absolute and irresponsible power, was only a constitutional King in Hungary. He was a King, not by divine right, not according to his own will and pleasure, but a King by the consent of the Nation, sworn before God and man to maintain its Constitution and laws, and to protect the rights of its citizens. He was a King, too, whose acts might be reviewed by the Legislature, whose plans had to be submitted to the Counties, whose edicts were not laws until they had been approved by the municipal bodies. He was a King, then, whose authority was circumscribed and delegated, and whose fiats amounted to nothing if opposed to the spirit of the local administrations.

This was the protection and safeguard of the people, but alas! it proved also the cause of their oppression and death. For it will readily be conceived that the existence of such a nation, of a nation with free municipal institutions and popular suffrage, must be, in the nature of the case, a stumbling block and rock of offense to the ambitious designs of an absolute government.—How could the two survive together? Absolutism, in its inmost heart, is exclusive, all-absorbing, unlimited, one. It has no brother—tolerates no rival. It is itself alone, or it is nothing. Accordingly, from the first moment when the royal crown of Hungary was placed upon the head of the Imperial ruler of Austria, the machinations of the latter to gain exclusive control of the former began, and they did not cease until all but the name of Magyar was blotted from the earth.—The whole history of the dynasty of Hapsburg has been an unvarying record of its attempts to vanquish and absolutize the Hungarian Constitution. Sometimes by open force, sometimes through a shallow pretense of legislation, and more often by systematic cunning and fraud, it has undermined, or sapped, or lopped off, or extinguished, one after another of the bulwarks and popular defenses of the Hungarian system. Never in the dark annals of our race has tyranny been more systematic, more subtle, more unhesitating, or more inhuman, in wresting their rights from the hands of the governed, than Austria has been in her persecutions of her independent and generous, but proud-spirited confederate.

Indeed, it is almost incredible to what hights of audacity and outrage she has been carried in her determination to crush this tenacious and obstinate nation into an obedient province, to convert a proud kingdom into a fawning and serviceable member of the empire. Our hearts sicken when the tale is told, or else grow frenzied in the tumults of their indignation. When we recall the atrocious careers, in this respect, of Leopold, of Joseph, of Maria Theresa, of Ferdinand, we have in our minds all that is cold and heartless in despotism. You will find a parallel only in the willfulness of oriental magnificoes or in the malignity of an Iberian inquisition.

We cannot here, of course, enter into a history of the successive measures by which the Magyar nationality has been extinguished; the detail would open up a chapter too long and sorrowful; but we may say briefly that the end at which Austria aimed was no less comprehensive and magnificent in its wickedness than the complete and final destruction of the Magyars as a distinct people. It was a work begun in the first place by an open subversion of their Constitution; carried on by the suppression of their religion; protracted through the forced amalgation of their language, and not even ending in the arbitrary proscription of the garments which they wore. An ordinary tyrant would have been satisfied with his assured and unquestioned supremacy over the cival life of his victim, or at most with penetrating into the conscience of his victim and tearing out the secretest fiber of his faith, but the insatiate and omnivorous ambition of the Austrian oppressor, so long as the living obstacles to its power could talk to each other of their mutual sorrows and wrongs, or so long, when the tongue was silenced by a strange speech, as they could recognize each other by the fold of the attiler or the wave of a plume, found their horrid work unfinished! Nothing but complete and irrevocable extinction could appease a malignity so exhaustless and fell.

When Joseph II. put on the imperial purple of Hapsburg, he had the temerity to reject the Hungarian Constitution: he refused to take the coronation oath, saying that the crown was his by hereditary descent; and he abolished municipal self-government, taking away thereby the elective franchise of the people even in the most trivial village affairs. Rodolph II., his successor, then undertook to exterminate the Protestants; shut up their religious edifices; admitted no man to citizenship who would not swear unqualified fidelity to the priests, seized and pillaged their villages; invaded the bedchambers of women with his brutal soldiery; dragged the peasants from their plows to answer for opinions which they had not even whispered to the poor brutes they drove, and devoted to instant execution at the hands of the hangmen, who formed a regular train of his army, all who dared to speak of clemency, or to utter the slightest disapprobation of his cruelties. Yet, as if this were not enough, the Hungarian was forbidden to talk in his native speech. The laws, the deliberations, the lectures of Professors, the literature of books, nay, the common every-day conversations of the mechanics and the husbandmen, and, worse than all, the innocent prattle of the mother to her infant, could only be uttered in the language of the oppressor. The ancient songs of the people were no more heard in their corn fields, the story teller was silent by his native hearth, the workman was dumb at his bench, and a hideous paralysis, as of nightmare, froze up the very currents of the soul. Manners and customs, too, as well as civilization and the laws, whatever might remind the Magyar of his former freedom and independence, whatever cherished within him the seeds of nationality and the hope of its resurrection, whatever endeared him to his brother and stood in the way of his total amalgamation with the race of his conqueror—all were washed away, as with a sponge, but a sponge wet and reeking with his own heart's blood.

Do you ask if iniquity so horrible was tamely submitted to?—no, you do not ask it, because your hearts have already given the reply. The Magyars were not a race to sink down sullenly under such oppression. If they had been, they might have deserved their fate. But they battled long and well against all the insidious and all the open inroads of the invader. They made gigantic efforts to heave off the incubus, they struggled like Sinbad with the old man on his back, they performed heroic efforts, and illuminated their annals with instances of devotion, of energy, of high-minded courage, but they labored in vain. The heel of the oppressor was on their neck, and for more than a century their faces were in the dust. Whatever of their old immunities remained was the grant of their sovereign, not their own right.

They submitted, but they did not yield. It was not in the power of man to utterly crush the hopes or break the will of such a people. They bore their wrongs for that dreary century: they saw their names blotted out of the book of nations: they saw their institutions, their laws, their popular privileges, their literature, their commerce overturned and prostrate: but they were still Magyars and men, and still believed in the eternal God. But, alas! the old men laid themselves down in their graves, before the redeeming hour of God's justice had arrived.

Such, then, were the old relations between Hungary and Austria, and such the inheritance which either party had left to its successors. It was a contest of nation against nation,—of an encroaching, insatiate, and ambitious empire, with an independent, proud and resisting kingdom. The internal relations of the two, therefore, were those of incessant hostility.

With the dawn of the present century, a new generation upon the throne of Hapsburg, a younger set of men in the homes of the Magyar, new circumstances arose, and new relations, both internal and external, were generated. The Magyar, forgiving but not forgetting, the wrongs of his fathers, acquiescing for the time in a tyranny which he could not overthrow,—corrupted, too, it may be, to some extent, by the blandishments which absolutism knew so well how to use,—in the long wars that grew out of the French Revolution, became the best reliance of Austria in her hour of need. He joined in her battles with the mighty spirit who then distracted and terrified the allied sceptres of Europe. The discipline and impetuous energy of the Hungarian soldiery saved many a field in which the feebler force of Austria would have been borne to the ground.

These services ought to have been requited on the part of Austria, in a liberal spirit of administration toward her assistant, but, with the exception of a few trivial concessions, of an occasional allowance of municipal rights, and an occasional relaxation of oppressive edicts, the old system was enforced with much of its old stringency and malevolence. At the same time, however, these services of the Hungarians had been profitable to themselves, for they had taught them the secret of their strength. It was a great thing to have learned the fact that if they were insignificant in peace, they could be terrible in war. They were emboldened and encouraged to more positive demands. The feeling of the nation was awakened; they threw off the lethargy of long inactivity; the spell of despair and utter helplessness was broken; a vigorous fresh blood coursed through their veins; new thoughts and new hopes and new resolves gave a bounding spring and elasticity to their minds.

When, therefore, in 1832, just after the second revolution of France had driven Charles the Xth from his throne and animated the popular heart of Europe with aspirations for change—when, we say, the National Diet was convoked in 1832, it was found to be a Diet which not only opposed Austria, but which cherished plans of internal reform. Although, by the Constitution, it was the source of all law to Hungary, it had not been assembled for full seven years before. When it did convene, the purposes of good which had been fermenting all over the land, in the secluded nook no less than in the magnate's parlor, were brought to a head. Its first proposal, though it was composed mainly of landholders, (to their glory be it said,) was the emancipation of the peasants,—peasants, as we have seen, who had been originally in a tolerably good condition, but who had been reduced to a state of almost serfdom. Its next proposal was, to make every inhabitant of mature age a voter, thus placing the liberties of the nation on the most liberal and sure foundation. It then ordered the restoration of the native language of the people by new and strong enactments. It incorporated a college for the revival of the native literature. It stimulated industry by commencing a system of internal improvements, and thus for four years went on in the same wise and generous spirit, to recover the lost prerogatives and enlarge the freedom of the whole people.

But all these measures were steadily resisted by the agents of the Austrian Government, who left no means untried to rebuke and suppress the rising spirit of democracy. They saw in the success of these measures the certain downfall of the Imperial power. From remonstrance and threats, they proceeded to open violence and persecution. Among the leaders of the movement was a venerable Magyar noble—noble alike by nature and position—the Baron Wesselenyi, whose vehement words and determined spirit rallied his fellow-nobles to the great work of elevating and blessing the peasants. "Care not for the Imperial despots," said he, "whose policy from the beginning has been to oppose your good deeds and convert your land into a slavish province; but care for yourselves and your people." His freedom of speech was thought likely to be contagious, and he was arraigned for treason. The Judges, who were the creatures of the House of Hapsburg, sentenced him to prison. At the same time, and by the same tribunal, several younger men, charged with having held a political meeting, were condemned to the same dungeon. The civil law, which forbade such a sentence, for such an offense, was expressly suspended, that the case might be determined by military rule. They went away doggedly to their living tomb.

But, thank God, the work of that day was not yet done. Another culprit was called to the bar, who was likewise accused of the same offense. He was a young man, of middling size, but of noble and impressive bearing. Already he had lain several months in prison awaiting his trial. He was the son of a poor Hungarian estate-agent of the North, who had educated himself, had been a tutor in the family of a noble lady, had acquired some notions of the law, and some of public matters, and had been chosen even to sit in the Diet, as the representative of an absent magnate, where he could vote, but could not speak. Brooding on the wants of his countrymen, he had thought that a knowledge of what was doing by their rulers might be of use to them, and he therefore wrote out and printed the debates, first, of the National Assembly, and then of the county meetings. As these debates, however, were apt to be a little free, the Government suppressed his reports by law. He then, to evade the law, lithographed his reports, when the lithographs were also suppressed. His next resort was to write out the debates, get them copied by a company of young men of his own sort, and have them transmitted everywhere as ordinary letters. But the Government foiled him here too, for the Government kept the Post-Office, and his letters, by some curious hocus-pocus, never got to their destination. In this dilemma, he finally established a post of his own, and making his copyists also carriers, in spite of the censorship of the press, and in spite of the hocus-pocus of the mails, found his dispatches safely delivered. It was not long before an edition of ten thousand copies was circulated in every hamlet and almost every house of the land. But such ingenuity, coupled with such energy, you may readily conceive was not to be endured. Accordingly, once in the still watches of the night, when he was walking alone on the shores of the Danube, the eternal stars gazing softly down upon his meditations, the quiet waters rolling at his feet, he was suddenly seized by the minions of tyranny, blindfolded and cast into a dungeon. After a long confinement, he was at last brought into daylight to take his trial. He came to the bar, and as the rumor of the event had gone forth, thousands of the readers of those letters had come to listen to the result. His face was pale and haggard from long duress, but his step was firm, his head erect, and his eyes burning with unquenchable fire. As a lawyer he managed his own case, but had not, as most of us have, in such attempts, according to the old adage, a fool for his client. He met the accusations against him at every point; he foiled the skill of the attorneys; he made the judges wince under his rebukes; he roused the people to fury by his appeals. "Never," says a historian, "had Hungary witnessed a more magnificent struggle for life and liberty." But what is adroitness of logic, what intellectual fire, what dignity and elevation of character, opposed to the predetermined will of Austrian despotism? He was condemned to a long and solitary imprisonment. His friends accompanied him to the dark and pestilent fortress of Buda, but as they walked along he was silent and subdued. His heart was too full for the vain relief of words: yet, as they turned to depart, he said "there is something here which can not now be spoken."—But, those nameless words have since been spoken, and in the glowing and deathless eloquence of Louis Kossuth are echoing round the world!

Happy fate! a martyr to a great principle, in his earliest youth he was secured to the cause of freedom forever; for he that suffers for a truth comes to love it with a double attachment, while he is thereafter enthroned in the hearts of all to whom it is dear. Kossuth, in his imprisonment, suffered all the horrors which cluster about the life of the dungeon, yet his gain was infinitely great. The long hours of solitary thought, separated from the lives which too often dazzle and mislead the best-constituted young men, prepared him for his great destiny. His studies made him familiar with the English tongue, and through that with the inspirations of Milton's thoughts, and Cromwell's and Washington's deeds. They enabled him, at this later day, to commune with fifty millions of the most advanced people on the globe, and in those magnificent outbursts of high thoughts and generous sentiments which have lately thrilled us at Southampton and London, to urge these people to a glorious career.

Meantime, while the young advocate was learning to read Shakspere by the faint light of his dungeon-grate, and pondering his own and his country's destiny, in the slow hours of the night, the rumor of his condemnation flew on the wings of birds to every corner of the land. The people, nobles and peasants alike, instinctively knew their friend, and took up his cause. Even as far off as the Austrian capital the Democratic instinct recognized its man, and made common cause with the masses of Hungary. Associations were formed in Vienna, as well as in all the chief towns and villages of the Magyar land, to sustain the natural rights of humanity against the arrogant pretensions of reigning families. Three years of busy agitation accomplished the work of twenty years of slow-moving discussion. When, in 1841, Kossuth was released from his cell, he found his companion, the old Baron Wesselenyi, blind, under the cruel treatment he had received—he found the young Lovassi a maniac—he found the three others ready for death, under the diseases they had contracted. Heaven pity the sufferers; but he found the eyes of the people open, their judgments sane, and their bodies strong to do the work of the time. Condemned for the sake of the press, his first act was to establish a press—the *Pesti Hirlap*—the first liberal newspaper in the east of Europe. The satraps of Austria tried to strangle it, but they tried in vain; matters had gone too far; the Democratic spirit was up; and for six years, Kossuth and his friends battled with injustice, both at home and abroad, as the infant Hercules in his cradle battled with the serpents. At the same time Wesselenyi, the blind old baron, traveled from one end of the Kingdom to the other, not to arouse the people, for they were already aroused, but to keep alive and concentrate the fire. He was received with open doors and the warm blessings of the heart, while Kossuth—this was in 1847—was returned, by acclamation, a member of the National Assemby for Pesth. He immediately took his seat, not as formerly to vote, without speaking, for an absent magnate, but to vote and speak in the living present, for himself and the people. And that voting and that speaking, you may depend upon it, from these precedents, were both effective.

The National Assembly, at that time, was divided into three parties: the old Conservatives, who were reluctant to break the ties with Austria, and who were also unwilling to break the chains of the people; the Progressives, who were determined to do both; and the extreme Socialistic Reformers, who, on the ruins made by the Democrats, wished to build up entirely new laws and new social arrangements. Kossuth sided with the middle party. He disliked the former, and distrusted the theories of the last; but, whatever his differences with either, he contrived very soon, by his burning eloquence and energy, to fuse them all into one, and to make of them the single, united Hungarian party. An Austrian writer, an enemy, says: "The parliamentary speeches of Kossuth were like flaming arrows, which he hurled into kindred minds, to urge them to a fanatic enthusiasm." "His oratory," continues the same writer, "was like a large battery with heavy ordnance discharging the most fearful missiles. The poisonous sting of his replies, his despotic power in the House, his intrigues out of doors, had the power of an army against the stand-still policy of Metternich." Thus, he vanquished the Conservatives, while, on the other hand, the ultra-Socialists, melted by his fire, rushed into his arms as the most wise and judicious leader they could adopt.

Kossuth's policy, as unfolded in a programme published in 1847, had two aspects: the one relating to foreign and international affairs, and the other to the domestic administration. With regard to Austria, it simply asserted that the independence and integrity of the kingdom should be maintained on the old basis of the laws and Constitution, but that the king should act, not through foreigners, but native Hungarians. Nothing like a revolt, however, from the Austrian connection was proposed. The patriots meant merely to go back to the old system, under which they had some opportunity of managing their own affairs. They even professed the warmest attachment to the throne, so long as they were permitted the exercise of their rights, dating back some eight hundred years. They were not then either rebels or revolutionists, but erred rather on the side of devotion to law and order.

But their internal policy showed that while they could be tolerant, moderate and even too loyal to a House which had inflicted so many wrongs upon them, they were determined to be fearless and just in respect to the people. They proclaimed their objects in the following propositions:

1. That all the peasants of the Kingdom, whatever might be their religion or race, should be at once exempted from all urbarial dues and obligations to their landlords, for which the latter were to receive an indemnity from the State.

2. That, without exception of religion or race, all the inhabitants of the country, noble and non-noble, should be declared equal before the law.

3. That every inhabitant whose income amounted to ten pounds, (fifty dollars,) which included all persons not vagabonds or State paupers, should possess the elective franchise.

4. That every inhabitant should bear his equal proportion of the expense of the Government, by being taxed on his income.

5. That the Hungarian Diet, not the Chancery at Vienna, should decide on the employment of the public revenue.

6. That the revenue and other National interests should be put into the hands of a Cabinet of native Ministers, who would be responsible to the people whose interests they represented.

Beside these more general principles, it was proposed that all real estate should be held responsible for its owner's debts; that the whole tithing system, which had been so oppressive to the poor, should be abolished; that the nobles, though they were about to relinquish more than half their possessions, should be taxed on what remained; that the Jewish and foreign inhabitants should no longer be subject to special legislation, but be brought under the laws common to all the citizens; and that eight millions of dollars should be immediately expended in works of internal improvement.

These laws were all regularly carried through both Chambers, and five millions of serfs raised in one day to the dignity of landholders and free citizens—the most generous and sublime legislative act on record!

As the first step to the realization of the foreign policy, Kossuth moved the appointment of an independent Hungarian Ministry. The very day he made the motion news came by telegraph of the outbreak of the late French Revolution.—All minds were so excited that the motion was carried by storm. A committee was at once appointed, with Kossuth at the head, to repair to the Emperor, and to demand the new cabinet.—It reached Vienna on the 15th March, 1848, when they found the Austrian people themselves in arms against the Government. Its chairman was lifted literally on the hands of the excited masses into the imperial palace. But what a scene was that! On the one side, the Emperor, representing the imperial glories of five hundred years, with his glittering train of statesmen and soldiers,—on the other, the poor advocate, lately a prisoner, with no weapon but his tongue and his cause, the cause of thirty millions of freemen. Modestly, but firmly, he stated his demands; the Emperor hesitated; the ministers and gay folks around smiled in scorn; but the loud clamors of the people came up from the streets, and the echoes of the Paris bruit had not yet died away. The Emperor relaxed and granted all that was asked. Kossuth and his deputation returned, to tell the news to grateful Hungary, which, in the frenzy of its happiness, strewed his path with flowers and sent up his name in the same breath which bore their praises to God.

Now, mark the double-distilled and infernal treachery of this Emperor and his tribe; mark, how the cup was dashed from the lips that would have drunk oblivion for all the past and infinite joy for the future from its contents; mark, what infamous wrongs the people have always to revenge or pardon! While the valleys of Hungary were still vocal with the songs of rejoicing; while the bonfires were yet unextinguished upon the hills, this lying Emperor, through his agents, was secretly stirring up among the different people of Hungary a relentless and bloody war of races. The Croats, the Servians, the Wallachs, the Sclaves, the Reiks, the Saxons, by gold, by argument, by appeals to traditional and religious prejudice, by menaces, by every means that power is quick to handle, were made to believe that the Magyars, in their schemes of emancipation, meant not the good of the whole, but simply meant to elevate themselves at the expense of all the rest. Absurd and shameful pretense! Yet these races, misled and backed by the prestige and power of the Empire, believed the devilish calumny, and rose in insurrection. They cried, "Down with the usurping Magyar!" and set to work at butchery and outrage. Shame, shame again, on Austria, to have set these poor deceived and benighted peasants, with the assassin's knife, upon their best friends! A treble shame upon the falsehood and cruelty! But the Magyars met the unexpected reverse with surprise and sorrow, but with insight and bravery. They proceeded to quell the turbulence, but, to do so, did not forget that the authors of it resided, not in the provinces, but in Vienna. Betrayed at the very moment of fruition, after the struggles and sufferings of centuries, they had nothing to do but fight. Kossuth, rising in the Assembly to state the desperate condition of affairs, moved an instant levy of troops. But he has lately told the story of this scene himself, and no tongue but his own should attempt to do it again:

At a late Birmingham festival he spoke thus:

"Three years ago yonder house of Austria, which had chiefly me to thank for not having been swept away by the revolution of Vienna, in March, 1848 having in return answered by the most foul, most sacrilegious conspiracy against the chartered rights, freedom and national existence of my native land, it became my share, being then member of the ministry, with undisguised truth to lay before the Parliament of Hungary the immense danger of our bleeding father-land. (Hear hear.) Having made the sketch, which, however dreadful, could be but a feeble shadow of the horrible reality, I proceeded to explain the terrible alternative which our fearful destiny left to us after the failure of all our attempts to avert the evil—to prevent the neck of the nation to the deadly stroke aimed at its very life, or to bear up against the horrors of fate, and manfully to fight the battle of legitimate defense. Scarcely had I spoken the words, scarcely had I added that the defense would require 200,000 men and 80,000,000 florins, when the spirit of freedom moved through the hall, and nearly 400 representatives rose as one man, and lifting their right arm toward God, solemnly swore, 'We grant it, freedom or death!" (Cheers.) There they stood with uplifted arms, in calm and silent majesty, awaiting what further words might fall from my lips. And for myself, sure it was my duty to speak, but the grandeur of the moment and the rushing waves of sentiment benumbed my tongue. A burning tear fell from my eye, and a sigh of adoration to the Almighty God fluttered on my lips, and bowing low before the majesty of my people, as I bow now before you, gentlemen, (hear, hear), I left the tribune, silently, speechless, mute. (M. Kossuth paused a moment, apparently somewhat moved.) Pardon me my emotion, gentlemen (hear, hear), the shadows of our martyrs, whose names I see here, pass before my eyes, and I hear the millions of my nation once more shout, 'Freedom or death!'"

It is needless for us to add that this sublimest touch of oratory woke the brave hearts of the English into tumultuous shouts, even while their manly cheeks were wet with tears.

The Magyars fought with a desperation and valor which equals the most heroic achievements of the most heroic ages. They drove the perfidious Austrian, with his mercenary bands of Croats and savages, clean from their native soil; they declared their independence forever; they organized a provisional government with a view to the more deliberate formation of a new nation; when their disgraced and routed enemy, sacrificing his own dignity and power to the aggressive despotism of the Czar, brought upon Hungary all the horrors of a Russian invasion. But, in that extremity even, the Magyar did not quail. He grappled with the fierce Northern Bear and would have throttled him, had not a second Arnold appeared to make men blush for their kind, in the person of Arthur Gorgey. But alas! what sagacity and power, this side of Heaven, can cope with external invasion and internal treachery? Hungary fell, but not until her gallant defense had made her a friend in every noble mind. Her glorious chieftain fell; but even the Turk, smitten with admiration of his great qualities, gave him an asylum, though a prison.

Now in the course of time, by the happy intervention of England and the United States—and we glory that our nation has shared with that great people from which it has sprung, the honor of the deed—this criminal, this outcast, this exile, has been restored to freedom. In the flush of his gratitude he has repaired to the shores of Great Britain, to thank the nation for his deliverance. He has been received nobly, grandly—as the representative of a beneficent truth should always be received. It is true that *The Times*, the time-serving organ of a class which has spit its envenomed slanders upon him, has swelled, and sputtered, and hissed in its impotent malice; it is true that the fancied leaders of public opinion—that inflated and consequential set—have abstained from participating in his reception; but the people of England—the true, the hardworking, the spontaneous masses—have welcomed him, with a triumph which no laureled conqueror has ever received. They have stretched forth their arms, and raised their voices, and flung up their caps, and opened their hearts, with a free, impulsive, enthusiastic feeling, that does honor to their nature, and makes all of us proud that we are men. Therefore, God bless the people; English, or Irish, or American, God bless the people! When diplomats doubt, and politicians stand aloof, and merchants quaver, the people are true, and uncalculating, and right. They do not stand shivering on any petty punctilios of etiquette; they do not ask how their action may influence this movement or that; but consulting the God-inspired instincts of their hearts, they pour out their gratulation and joy to all who have nobly done or nobly dared for the rights of humanity.

This, then, has been the Past of Hungary.—Her history is before you; her ancient and deep-seated love of freedom; her heroic struggles to maintain it; her gallant and noble spirits resisting to the last; and her sorrowful yet glorious fall. You have seen the character of her devoted champion and friend,—so wise in council, so pure in aim, so persuasive in speech, so energetic and almost omnipotent in action; so dreaded by his enemies, so beloved and idolized by his friends. You know her cause and her man, and the question springs exultingly to your hearts, whether such principles and such chiefs belong wholly to the past? Are they to have no future? Yes, in humanity's name, in God's name, yes! Another hour for Hungary must soon come, and when that hour comes, it will come to all the free people of the world. Knowing her wrongs and her rights, we, among the rest, cannot then stand as before, insensible and lifeless to her appeals.—No! Heaven forbid! The emancipated natives of the earth, who feel what freedom is,—whatever may be the dictates of selfish and cold-hearted policy,—must lift their arms, and strike as the lightning strikes, for liberty and progress.

PARKE GODWIN.

*Dr. Tefft, to whose able and eloquent book on Hungary we are indebted for most of these facts and illustrations.

Statistics of Manufactures.

From a Washington correspondent we have received the follow statement of the results of the Census of 1850, as it respects manufactures.

AGGREGATE OF MANUFACTURES.

Capital invested in manufactures June 1, 1850	$330,000,000
Raw material consumed	550,000,000
Amount paid for labor	240,000,000
Value of manufactured articles	1,020,000,000
Number of persons employed	1,050,000

COTTON GOODS.

Capital invested in manufacture	$74,500,000
Raw material used	35,000,000
Value of manufactures	61,000,000
Paid for labor	18,000,000
Hands employed	92,286

PIG IRON.

Capital invested in manufacture	$17,348,000
Raw material consumed	7,000,000
Cost of labor	5,066,000
Value of products	12,740,000
Hands employed	20,458

CAST IRON.

Capital invested in manufacture	$17,456,000
Raw material	10,340,000
Labor	7,000,000
Value of product	25,000,000
Number of hands	20,507

[Journal of Commerce.

A NEW MOVEMENT.—Some of the most prominent among the Opposition leaders begin to talk about the necessity of nominating some man for Governor not identified with either the Wright or the Bright wings of the Opposition in Indiana. It is not improbable that such will be the result of the February Convention.

☞ *The Cleveland Plaindealer* says that between one hundred and twenty and one hundred and fifty German residents of that city, will leave for their fatherland, to participate in the expected revolution there in May next.

☞ The Opposition in California hold a State Convention, to elect Delegates to the Baltimore Convention, on the 1st Monday in February.

☞ The ports of Esmeraldos and Santa Rosa in Equador were declared free on the 15th of August last.

☞ There are now four railroad trains a day between Washington and Baltimore.

☞ P. L. GILBERT, (Museum Building,) and JOHN McGOWN, are our Agents in ALBANY for the sale of The Tribune.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF INTERIOR

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, Nov. 29, 1851.

To the President of the United States:

SIR—For the purpose of enabling you to recommend to Congress, at its approaching session, such measures as you may judge necessary and expedient respecting the various subjects confided to the Department of the Interior, I respectfully submit the following report:

The law creating this Department was approved the 3d of March, 1849. By its provisions the Secretary of the Interior is required to exercise supervisory and appellate powers over the acts of the Commissioner of Patents, of the General Land Office, of Indian Affairs, of Pensions, and of Public Buildings, and also over the accounts of Marshals, Clerks, and other officers of the Courts of the United States; over the officers engaged in taking the Census; the Inspectors and Wardens of the Penitentiary of the District of Columbia, and the subject of lead and other mines of the United States. He is also charged with other duties not specially mentioned in the law, but which, from their peculiar nature, appropriately belong to his office. Among these is the general supervision of the proceedings of the Commission instituted, under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, to run and mark the boundary line between the United States and Mexico. Under each of these several heads he has important and responsible functions to perform; he prescribes rules for the general administration of the different bureaus, sees to their faithful execution, and decides judicially on all appeals from either of them which may be brought before him. Such is the general outline of the duties of the office.

[The Secretary then gives the estimates of the Appropriations for the ensuing year, which we published yesterday, and do not now repeat.]

MEXICAN BOUNDARY SURVEY.

The amount embraced in the regular estimates of the present fiscal year was.....$100,000 00
The amount included in the estimates for the next year is.....$200,000 00

There would, therefore, appear to be an excess over the estimate for the present year of $100,000; but this is merely apparent. After the regular estimates had been submitted letters were received from the Commissioner making such representations as to the cost of transportation and the scarcity and high price of provisions, &c., in the country along the line, as to render it necessary to ask for a larger sum. The facts were communicated to the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, and the Committee on Finance in the Senate, and they were requested to increase the appropriation to $180,000. This was not done, however, and there was consequently a very large deficiency in the appropriation for the current year. The present estimates include this deficiency as being $80,000, which added to the appropriation of $100,000, makes the expenditures on account of the present year $180,000, and deducting it from the gross amount of the present estimates, leaves $120,000 only chargeable to the next fiscal year, being $60,000 less than the amount required for the present year.

PENSION OFFICE.

This Bureau has charge of two distinct branches of business, viz: Pensions and Land Bounties.

Pensions may be classed under six different divisions:

First. To soldiers of the Revolution.
Second. To widows of Revolutionary soldiers.
Third. To invalids.
Fourth. To widows and orphans of soldiers in the Mexican War.
Fifth. To Persons in the Naval service of the United States.
Sixth. Virginia half-pay and commutation claims.

The whole number of pensioners of all classes now on the rolls is 19,611, of whom 13,467 were paid during the first two quarters of the present year, the latest periods to which we have reports. The number added to the rolls during the year was 2,287, and the number of deaths reported 765. The whole amount expended for pensions during the year ending 30th September, 1851, exclusive of Navy Pensions, is about $1,439,848.

REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONS.

The first act granting pensions to Revolutionary soldiers was passed 18th March, 1818. The whole number pensioned under that act, up to the present time, is 20,485, of whom only 1,383 now remain on the rolls, being a reduction since my last report of 140.

The next law on the subject was passed on the 15th May, 1828. Under it 1,155 pensions were granted. At the date of the last report but 162 remained on the rolls, of which number 34 are supposed to have died during the last year, as only 128 are reported as being now on the rolls.

The third and much the most comprehensive law granting pensions to soldiers of the Revolution was passed 7th June, 1832. 32,986 persons have been beneficiaries under this act, but only 4,813 now remain on the rolls.

WIDOWS OF REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS.

The first law granting pensions to persons of this class was passed the 4th July, 1836. Under its provisions 5,068 have received pensions. The number now on the rolls under that act, and the act of 21st July, 1848, is 2,774.

The act of 7th July, 1838, granted pensions to widows of revolutionary soldiers who were married prior to 1794. Of 11,191 who received the benefit of that law, only 186 received their pensions during the first two quarters of the present year.

The act of 2d February, 1848, extended the benefits of the law of 1838 to such widows as had been married prior to the 1st of January, 1794. The whole number pensioned under this act is 5,790, of whom 4,294 are yet on the rolls. The act of 20th July, 1848, extended its benefits to those who were married prior to 1800, and under the law, 960 have been pensioned, all of whom, according to the returns, yet remain on the rolls.

It thus appears that time is rapidly sweeping from existence these venerable objects of national gratitude and munificence.

INVALID PENSIONS.

The whole number of pensioners of this class now on the rolls is 5,359, of whom 617 have been added during the year.

MEXICAN WAR PENSIONS.

The act of 21st July, 1848, and the supplemental act of 22d February, 1849, and the joint resolution of 28th September, 1850, gave pensions to the widows and orphans of soldiers killed in the Mexican war, or who died of disease contracted in the service. Under these laws, 1,750 persons are now receiving pensions, showing an increase of 294 since the date of my last report.

NAVY PENSIONS.

It has heretofore been the custom to report the statistics relating to the pensioners of this class to the Secretary of the Navy, by whom they were communicated to the President. But, believing that it would be more satisfactory to embody all the facts relating to the entire subject of pensions in a single report, I have deemed it proper to embrace this class with the others.

It appears from the report of the Commissioner of Pensions that the number of invalid pensioners of this class now on the rolls is 709, 29 having been added during the last year; that the number of widows now on the rolls is 481, being an increase during the last year of 92; and that the number of orphans is 38, 11 having been added since the last report. The aggregate amount required to pay pensions of this class now on the rolls is $147,264 96.

VIRGINIA HALF-PAY AND COMMUTATION CLAIMS.

The half-pay claims examined and allowed since the date of my last report, amount to $41,490, including the sum of $5,289 04 which had been previously adjudicated, but not paid.

No action has been taken on any commutation cases during the year. Congress having indicated a purpose to legislate in regard to them, I directed a suspension of further proceedings until the close of the next session, so as to afford them an opportunity of expressing their will on the subject.

BOUNTY LANDS.

Donations of public lands in consideration of military service, have been made, under different laws, to various classes of soldiers. The first grants of this kind were to

SOLDIERS OF THE WAR OF 1812.

In my last report the whole number of warrants issued to soldiers of our last war with Great Britain was stated to be 29,978. Since that time the following additional warrants have been issued, viz: 1 for 320 acres; 55 for 160 acres; and 26 for 40 acres each. There are still 450 claims suspended for further evidence.

MEXICAN WAR.

There have been 90,146 applications filed for bounties under the Act of 11th February, 1847, granting lands or scrip to soldiers engaged in the war with Mexico. In all, 83,955 claims have been allowed and warrants and scrip issued since the last annual report are as follows, viz:

3,020 warrants for 160 acres each;
223 warrants for 40 acres each;
63 certificates for $100 each; and
2 certificates for $25 each.

6,191 cases are suspended for further evidence.

THE BOUNTY LAND LAW, OF SEPTEMBER 28, 1850.

This act is much more liberal and comprehensive in its provisions than any previous law of a similar character. It gives to all persons living, and to the widows and minor children of such as are dead, who have been actually engaged in the military service of the United States, in any war from 1790 to the close of the Mexican war, for the period of one month or more, bounty land graduated in quantity according to length of service. If all the soldiers engaged in these wars were now living or represented by persons entitled to the benefits of the law, the number of claims would not be less than *five hundred and fifty thousand*; and, assuming 80 acres as the average grant to each, the quantity of land disposed of would be *forty-four millions of acres*. Making proper allowance for those who had died leaving no representative entitled to claim, the former Commissioner of Pensions estimated the number of applicants at *two hundred and fifty thousand*. The result has proved that he did not overestimate the number. Between the 28th of September and 5th of November, 1850, 9,418 applications were filed. On the 1st of November, 1851, the whole number received was about 157,000; and as they are still coming in rapidly, it will not fall far below 170,000 at the commencement of the session of Congress.